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ABSTRACT

The effects of cuts in the federal education budget during the Reagan Administration and the outlook for the future for education programs during the next 4 years are discussed in this speech by a U. S. Senator. The current status of the following programs is compared to their status in 1980: Chapter 1, Chapter 2, bilingual education, vocational education, and other programs. Massive new education programs should not be expected in the future, but there will be adjustments in ongoing programs to make them more effective and to help them serve more children, and a few initiatives in response to trends and needs. The American Defense Education Act is one such needed bill. (DCS)

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Remarks by
Senator Paul Simon (D.IL)

"Education Cuts Don't Heal"
Federal Relations Luncheon
The 69th Annual Convention of the National Association of Secondary School Principals

January 27, 1985

I am pleased to be with you in New Orleans to report to you from Washington about what the Reagan proposals and the Congressional responses for education have meant. I wish I could report good news. I believe that the Federal response should be only positive and in an upward direction. I can't say that. And I don't anticipate that for the coming fiscal year.

Congress -- and even the President -- is finally getting the message that the budget deficit is real and must be lowered. The deficit issue seems likely to dominate the thinking of the 99th Congress. For education, the lowered sights for this Congress comes on the heels of four years of significant budget cutbacks. Can we expect vigorous education programs with wounds so deep?

EFFECTS OF THE REAGAN EDUCATION CUTS

There's an old rock and roll song that starts out "The first cut is the deepest...." In the case of education cuts, the first cuts proposed by the Reagan Administration were the deepest, and adopted by the Congress in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 assured that the cuts would be long lasting. I am sure you are painfully aware of the effects of these cuts on many of the programs that you rely on in your schools. The recession that occurred at the same time compounded the agony, and there has been a concomitant squeeze on state and local governments' ability to compensate for these losses. Let me give you some examples,

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comparing current programs to those in 1980, the last full year of the Carter Administration.

Chapter I

In 1979-80, 5.4 million children participated in federal programs for disadvantaged students. In the 1981-82 school year (the latest year for which we have participation date), that number had dropped to 4.9 million students.

Half a million children were dropped from the program and Chapter I did not take cuts! Congress refused the Reagan proposed rollback in spending on this program, but inflation had its impact.

A secondary effect was that the number of teachers and teacher aides paid with Chapter I funds fell from 200,000 in 1979-80 to 173,000 in 1981-82. That's 27,000 teachers that have to be paid out of other funds -- or not paid at all.

In addition, services were reduced for the youngest -- kindergarten and prekindergarten -- and the oldest -- secondary -- children, and in subjects like math, science, and arts.

In addition, some counties suffered greatly when the allocations began to be based on 1980, rather than 1970 census figures. Between 1983-84 and 1984-85, 850 counties took reductions in basic grants.

Chapter II

The Education Consolidation and Improvement Act was part of the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1981. It combined 40 previously categorical programs into one block grant. The idea of the block

grant approach was to provide state agencies and LEAs with funds that may be used in accordance with their own needs and priorities. On the surface, this approach seemed harmless enough. But Chapter II has not just cut, but gashed, many of the old programs. The program that was most deeply incised was Emergency School Aid (ESAA) for school desegregation.

Before 1981, thirty percent of categorical funding went to ESAA projects. Under the block grant, financial commitment to desegragation almost vanished. Less than five percent of Chapter II funds have been spent on desegregation.

The impact on urban areas has been tremendous. Here are some figures that show the effects of the reductions in only one school year:

* Buffalo went from $6.8 million in 1981 to $950,000 in 1982;
* Cleveland, from $10,8 million in 1981 to $1 million in 1982;
* Milwaukee from $14 million in 1981 to $2,000,000 in 1981; and
* St. Louis from $12 million in 1981 to $650,000 in 1982.

In the 1982-83 school year, Milwaukee was to enter the second year of a five-year ESAA grant. Instead, Milwaukee was forced to cut a range of programs it intended to fund under ESAA: human relations support and staff development; magnet secondary school programs on solar energy technology, computer science, energy and the environment, transportation, medical science and technology, recreation, agri-business, art, small business and international studies; and elementary school programs in foreign language training, the arts, basic skills and environmental education and for

the gifted and talented. The Milwaukee school superintendent expressed fear that the elimination of these programs would undermine community interest and support for the system's desegragation effort and would, in the end, actually destroy the effort.

The St. Louis school system received almost $12 million in the last two years of the ESAA program to support its desegregation efforts. In the first year of the block grant, the city received less than $750,000. The cuts led to staff reductions and curtailing or eliminating programs such as art, music, library sciences and physical education in elementary schools and science enrichment in the magnet schools.

These massive funding losses have not been restored and have had an obvious severe impact on urban school districts. The Justice Department's entering desegregation suits on the side of cities that want to halt decade-old desegregation efforts adds to the problem that urban schools face.

As you and I know, these ESAA funds aid not only desegregation efforts, but also provide compensatory education for students in those districts. Slashing these funds means that students most in need will not ever receive adequate education.

Bilingual Education

In his first year, President Reagan recommended severe budget cuts in the Federal bilingual education program. He also proposed legislative changes to narrow the definition of children who can be served and to broaden the types of programs that can be funded.

While Congress did not honor the Administration's altered program or funding, it has still cut more than 20 percent from the budget. When inflation is taken into account, these cuts amount to almost 40 percent. Furthermore -- and most disturbing -- student participation has decreased by almost one half at a time when the number of children with limited English proficiency has grown significantly. Local areas most in need of bilingual education programs are the least able to make up for Federal cuts in the program, and so they won't. As it stands now, only about one out of ten of Federal bilingual programs reach the children who, by right, should be receiving this instruction. What will happen to the 90 percent who are left out? They will add to the already alarming statistics on these groups: shockingly high school dropout and unemployment rate of limited English speaking minorities as well as the continued high incidence of family instability.

Education cuts don't heal. They leave ugly scars.

Vocational Education

Since 1980, the Federal appropriation for vocational education has fallen to $42 million, a 33 1/3 percent drop in funding, adjusting for inflation. While it is difficult to trace Federal vocational education dollars, a large portion of Federal funds are used for programs that serve special populations and purposes (disadvantaged, handicapped, limited English speaking students and sex equity) and improving the quality of programs (upgrading teacher skills, replacing outmoded equipment, meeting the demands of changing technologies, updating curricula, and innovative courses). Reductions in Federal funds will have a substantial

impact on these aspects of vocational education programs.

Other Programs

There are a number of programs that have been affected by Reagan policies that are more "hidden", but have a decided impact on educational policy in this country.

Funding for Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Civil Rights Technical Assistance and Training) has been held up by the Administration's refusal to release monies in the Chicago desegregation case. Long-term planning and commitment of services by Title IV grantees have been rendered virtually impossible as a result. Additional funding cuts in Title IV also crippled its effectiveness. By the 1983-84 school year Title IV grants had been reduced by 65 percent from 1980-81 and were serving 7 million fewer children. Devastating staff cuts have resulted, leading to a preciptous decline in available services.

In another case, the biomedical sciences program was eliminated by ECIA, but funding was continued through the Secretary's discretionary fund. One year before the program would have put its first minority students into a college or university, the program was dropped.

Summary

The total FY 1980 appropriation for education was $14.8 billion. The Administration requested for FY 1981 was for $13.5 billion, or $1.3 billion less. The Reagan request in FY 1982 was $12.6 billion, $2.2 billion less than the FY 1980 appropriation for education. In FY 1983, the Administration imposed the largest proposed cut, $4.9 billion less than the FY 1980 appropriation. FY 1984

saw a request that was $1.4 billion less than the FY 1980 appropriation. [The FY 1985 request was only 181 million above the 1980 appropriation]

If Congress had complied with President Reagan's budget cuts in education (minus the 1985 increased request), the total would have been $9 billion, out of a program that is less than twice that amount.

Despite Congress's turning back of Reagan cuts, the real cuts, (taking inflation into account) in education funding for major elementary and secondary education from FY 1981-FY 1985 amounted to the following:

Chapter I	14%
Bilingual education	38%
Impact Aid	37%
Handicapped	6%
Vocational education	30%
Adult education	39%

I could continue, and I am sure many of you have your own painful examples to relate about the effect of these cuts. While the situation is bad, things could have been worse if Congress had not refused to carry through the President's plan. Congress may not deserve a pat on the back, but a warm handshake might be appropriate!

Congress may be your best hope for the next four years, despite our growing awareness of the budget deficit's impact. What can you look for in the 99th and 100th Congresses?

THE FUTURE FOR EDUCATION PROGRAMS

I do not expect that during the next four years you will observe or participate in obtaining massive new education programs. What you can expect, I think, are adjustments in ongoing programs

in order to make them more effective and to help them serve more children, and a few initiatives that are responses to trends and needs in America's schools.

First, I think you will see continued emphasis on "excellence", with the main thrust being support of programs that concentrate on improvements in training, instruction and leadership in the schools.

The Higher Education Act, up for reauthorization in 1985, will be the vehicle for changes in these areas. The spotlight -- for good or ill -- has been turned on the quality of education that teachers and school site administrators are receiving. The higher education institutions themselves already are examining their programs and are making changes in curriculum, field experiences and supervision of teachers candidates. A number of universities are giving "warranties" on their teacher graduates. The Higher Education Act probably will include funding to encourage more widespread improvement and innovation in teacher education. The groundwork was laid in the 98th Congress with passage of the "Leadership in Educational Administration Act" and the "Talented Teacher Act". The first bill establishes technical assistance centers in states to develop leadership skills of elementary and secondary school principals and administrators. The Talented Teacher Act will fund scholarships for outstanding high school graduates who want to become teachers and will give fellowships to classroom teachers for career development and educational improvement projects.

I would like to see more programs of this kind. The Principals' Academy is now up and running at Illinois State University (Dick Kruse's alma mater) and is the type of imaginative program I

think we ought to be promoting at the Federal level.

Ted Bell, the former Secretary of Education, funded studies of merit pay and career ladder systems in states and school districts, and pushed this idea within the Department of Education.

While career ladders and merit pay plans may help to give financial incentives to teachers, I am sure you will agree that financial rewards alone will not improve the quality of instruction, nor will this one plan solve the larger problems of education.

We have to be imaginative in designing additional new Federal programs to improve the quality of schooling and promote expanded access to these programs.

American Defense Education Act

As you may know, I am one of the three principal sponsors in the Senate of the American Defense Education Act (S.177). While this bill seems to have a high price tag in the current hold-the-line climate, I know you agree with me that this investment is small relative to the high long-term gains. We can expect every dollar invested in education has a return of at least 700 percent in terms of payment of taxes, and savings on unemployment, welfare and other social services.

Moreover, the approach in ADEA allows local school districts to determine their own needs and to direct funding to programs that increase effectiveness and move toward excellence. In recent surveys principals and school administrators have said that they like the flexibility in Chapter II block grants. ADEA would give Chapter II the same type of flexibility as school districts, but with a more positive purpose based on improvement, and accompanied

by some important Federal guidelines. The days of new Federal categorical programs may be over, but there still are opportunities to infuse more Federal support into the schools.

Along these lines, also, I am hopeful that Congress will be able to pass House Education and Labor Chairman Hawkins' Effective Schools bill, which, like ADEA, emphasizes improvement of school programs.

The benefits of improving our schools and improving college opportunities for all Americans is clear:

Expected Lifetime Earnings of People 18-64 in 1981 dollars

	Male	Female
Less than High School	$ 601,000	$211,000
High School	861,000	381,000
1-3 years College	957,000	460,000
4 years College	1,119,000	523,000
5 + years College	1,301,000	699,000

Finishing high school adds more than 30 percent to the lifetime earnings of a man, and more than 40 percent for a woman who has less than a high school education. College graduation nearly doubles the lifetime earnings for a man who has less than a high school education, and nearly triples the earning power of a woman.

Many of us in Congress have realized that its not enough to declare victory and withdraw merely by using the word "excellence" in the same breath with education, and that quick fixes (although sometimes we fall for these) cannot solve deep and widespread problems.

It's commitment, not rhetoric that counts.

On a positive note, this year, secondary schools will be able to take advantage of funding appropriated for several bills passed in the 98th Congress. The Mathematics and Science Improvement Act received an appropriation of $100 million, which averages about $5,000 per county for training science and mathematics teachers. This funding, while small, will at least allow teachers to attend the National Science Foundation's highly regarded summer institutes this year.

At last, there also will be some funding available to school districts for identifying, containing and removing asbestos. I would like to see this Federal support for program grow, since the cost of asbestos removal is so astronomical.

Conclusion

Education cuts don't heal. We have learned that in the last four years. I am hopeful that the 99th Congress will be able to prevent or minimize cuts that will be proposed for education in the Administration's 1986 budget. We need your help. Let us join together today and renew our commitment to quality and equity in education, and strive to institute programs that give renewed health and vigor to the Nation's schools!